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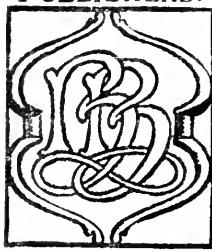


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JOHN SIBERCH

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JOHN SIBERCH

The First Cambridge Printer

1521-1522

BY

GEORGE J. GRAY

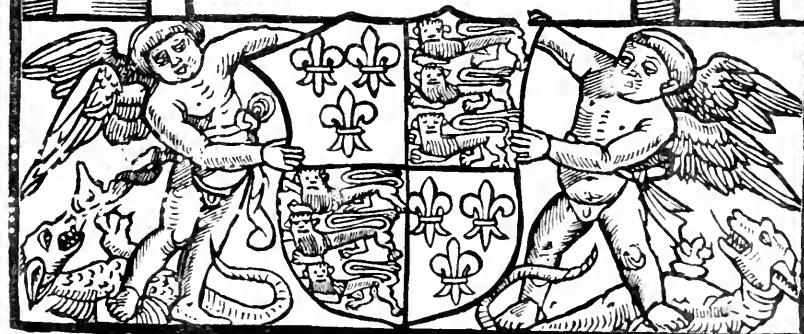
Author of *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders, and the first Cambridge Printer; John Siberch: Bibliographical Notes, 1886-1905* (with R. Bowes); *Wills and Inventories of Printers, Binders, and Stationers of Cambridge from 1504 to 1699* (with Dr. W. M. Palmer); *Index to the Cole MSS.; General Index to Hazlitt's Handbook and his Bibliographical Collections; A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Isaac Newton; Coopers' Athenae Cantabrigienses, Vol. III., with additions, corrections, and a new Index, &c.*

In Commemoration of the Four-hundredth
Anniversary of Printing in Cambridge

C A M B R I D G E
B O W E S & B O W E S

1921

37
DEDICATED
TO THE
PRINTERS
BOOKSELLERS
AND
LIBRARIANS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
& TOWN
OF
CAMBRIDGE



Border first used by Siberch on the title-page of Lucian *περὶ ἐψιλῶν*. 1521.

JOHN SIBERCH

IT seems only right that this year we should in some way celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the advent of printing in Cambridge. Especially should we, as the present representatives of the book-trade, keep in remembrance those of our predecessors who undertook the risks and responsibilities connected with the introduction of the art of printing in our land. Amidst the hurry and turmoil of the present day we are liable to forget the originators of the immense wealth of books with which we are now surrounded.

Unlike our sister University, we have no uncertainty about the commencement of printing in this town. 1521 is the date of the first work printed here. The date of the commencement of printing in Oxford is still a matter of doubt, owing to a probable error in the printed date of the first work. But it is sufficient here to state that Oxford preceded Cambridge in the art of printing, and that the Cambridge press was the fifth established in the provinces.

If I may say so, it is fitting that such an attempt at commemoration should be made by one who has helped to gather together a few unconsidered trifles which have thrown light upon the mystery enveloping the life and work of John Siberch, the first printer in Cambridge.

In saying this I do not intend for one moment to belittle the work of predecessors. To Mr. Robert Bowes, with whom it has been my privilege to work, is due the beginning of our present day interest in the subject. By the fortunate purchase of a copy of Linacre's Latin translation of Galen, *De Temperamentis*, printed in Cambridge, 1521, he was drawn to the question of the origin of Cambridge printing, and by his enthusiasm warmed others,

and succeeded in interesting the late Henry Bradshaw to such an extent that Bradshaw took the matter in hand and worked at the printer and his printing, with the result that we have from his pen a masterpiece of bibliography in the *Bibliographical Introduction*, left unfinished, but completed and printed after his death under the editorship of his successor, Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson. This was the last work on which Mr. Bradshaw was engaged when his health gave way in August, 1885. On the 31st of that month he wrote to Mr. Bowes, "I managed to go to London on Friday, and worked hard at *all* their Cambridge Siberch books, with satisfactory results."

Sir G. W. Prothero, in his Memoir of Henry Bradshaw (p. 309), says: "Another bibliographical problem, smaller and more capable of complete solution, occupied Bradshaw for a short time this summer. This was an investigation of the work of the first Cambridge printer, John Siberch, who printed several books at Cambridge in 1521-22. Mr. Robert Bowes had issued, in 1878, a facsimile of one of these books, Linacre's translation of Galen, and was anxious to publish the other productions of Siberch's press. At his suggestion, Bradshaw set to work on the books, and succeeded in discovering, from internal evidence alone, the exact order in which Siberch's eight volumes were published. The different copies of one of these, however, an edition of *Papyrus Geminus*, displayed certain variations which could not easily be explained. The publication was therefore delayed, in order to give Bradshaw time to examine all the known copies. This he was able to do in 1885, and by putting the books side by side, and patiently comparing them, he made out a complete history of this, the first Cambridge press."

But Sir G. W. Prothero's statement that Bradshaw had made out a complete history of the first Cambridge press was only partially true, for since then a fragment of another work has been discovered, and this I mention later.

Mr. Bradshaw's *Bibliographical Introduction* is an extremely interesting and valuable piece of work, and it "has added an important chapter to the history of printing in England." It shows the

gradual process by which he obtained the definite order in which the books were printed, and if he had been spared longer to us he might possibly have carried on his researches further. But those who knew him know how difficult it was to get him to publish any special piece of work—he aimed at completeness. Yet, in opposition to this remark, we have those valuable notes of his to the fragments of the *Day-book* of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller, dated 1520, edited by Mr. F. Madan. The notes were written in a few days, and sent to Mr. Madan with a covering letter dated 30th of January 1886, just twelve days before his death. These he called “A Half-Century of Notes on the Day-Book of John Dorne as edited by F. Madan.” They cover about thirty folios of foolscap. He made an Index and drew out a title-page, and had the sheets bound as a book, writing a title-label on the upper cover, sending the work off at once to Mr. Madan at the Bodleian. Round the title-page is written the text, “Whosoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might ; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave whither thou goest, Ecclesiastes 9, 10.” Note this quotation, and remember that the hand which wrote it was stilled for ever within the short space of twelve days.

This manuscript has been completely reproduced in facsimile for friends, and no one can look at the notes without noticing the ingenuity shewn in finding the real title of a book from the very vague entries in the *Day-Book* and Bradshaw’s knowledge of bookselling at that early time.

In regard to this ingenuity connected with the identification of books, I would mention the inventory attached to the will of Nicholas Pilgrim, a Cambridge bookbinder, who was with Garrett Godfrey and succeeded to his business, and died in 1545. It is printed in the *Wills and Inventories of Cambridge Booksellers*, by Dr. W. M. Palmer and myself. This Inventory of only twenty-five years after Dorne gives valuable and probably unique information concerning books kept for sale in our University town a little over twenty years after Siberch’s time. I had to exercise all my powers of ingenuity to

recognise the books mentioned as written in the manuscript, and Mr. Bradshaw's successor, Mr. Jenkinson, solved one which entirely baffled me. I wish I could give it here, but although I know the book I have not a copy of the manuscript version.

Between the fragments of Dorne's Day-Book of 1520 and Nicholas Clifton of 1579, information concerning an Oxford bookseller's stock is lacking, but we in Cambridge have the very full list of Nicholas Pilgrim of 1545 and others to fill that period of time.

Mr. Bradshaw's *Bibliographical Introduction*, printed in 1886, is the starting point for information concerning books printed by Siberch. Since then the fragment of another work printed by him has been discovered, which, added to the eight described by Bradshaw, raises the production of Siberch's press to nine books, to which we have to add another issue of the Galen, *De Temperamentis*, both of which will be mentioned later.

I have also re-examined most of the available copies of Siberch's press, and collected many additional notes, which I gathered together and presented to Mr. Bowes, who printed them in a little volume in 1906, along with facsimiles of the title-pages of the eight works, and a facsimile of the page of the newly-discovered work, etc. I mention this work here, as I refer to it later.

Three years after the printing of Bradshaw's notes, Mr. Jenkinson read a paper to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (18 Nov. 1889) "*On a unique fragment of a book printed at Cambridge early in the XVIIIth century.*" This paper concerned "a discovery made in the Chapter Library at Westminster by Mr. E. Gordon Duff. Among the fragments which formed the covers of a book in that library he found parts of the first sheet of the Cambridge (printed) *Papyrus Geminus* (of 1522), and he at once noticed two other leaves, part of a Latin Grammar, printed in the same type. None of the leaves had been folded, which made their association still more suggestive. There could be little doubt that all came from the same press. We soon found that we had before us part of the little *Syntax* (*De octo orationis partium constructione*) written for use in St. Paul's School." From a

letter of Erasmus, dated July 30, 1515, "prefixed to the later editions, we learn that by Colet's direction William Lily had composed a syntax, which Colet had insisted upon Erasmus revising. This he did so effectually that Lily would not hear of its being called his work. Erasmus did not feel that he could own it as his, and so it came out anonymously; the second edition contained Erasmus's disclaimer.

"The work is a likely one to have been printed at Cambridge at that time. When Cambridge booksellers were importing Antwerp editions of Holt's *Lac Puerorum*, we may be sure they would be ready to save money by selling a grammar printed in their own town. Perhaps the whole book exists somewhere unrecognized."

Thus far Mr. Jenkinson on the addition of one more book to the already known productions of Siberch's press. The page is given in facsimile in my little work of 1906. But a further examination of the other fragments led to most interesting discoveries which were described, also by Mr. Jenkinson, in another paper read to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society the following year (20 Oct. 1890), which he entitled, "*On a Letter from P. Kaetz to J. Siborch, Printer at Cambridge.*" This letter was also in the same binding of the book *De vita et moribus sacerdotum*, by Clichtoveus, printed at Paris by H. Stephanus in 1519, and is bound by Siberch, being one of the seven known to me as being bound by him.

Quoting Mr. Jenkinson: "The pads consisted partly of printed leaves, including the first sheet of the 1522 *Papyrius Geminus*, and sheet D of the hitherto unknown Cambridge edition of Lily and Erasmus, *De octo partium orationis constructione libellus*" (the subject of Mr. Jenkinson's previous communication), "and partly of scraps of manuscript. The most interesting of these is the letter." The letter is in Dutch, and is addressed: *Dem ersamen ende vromen Jan van Siborch boeckdrucker in cambritz. Hc līr (?)*. The translation by Mr. Hessels is as follows:

"'Know, Jan Siborch, that I have received your letter, as (?) [well as specimens] (?) of your letter [type], and it is very good; if you can otherwise... (?) and

conduct yourself well, then you will get enough to print. So I remain still in London because my master comes ; I expect him from day to day ; therefore I cannot even know when I cross, but so soon as I cross I shall do the best that is in my power. Item I have told Peter Rinck three or four times of the pater noster, but he tells me that he cannot find it, and Gibkerken (?) has not yet given Jacob pastor the ring but he carries it every day on his hand and he will not give it to Jacob Pastor. Item I send you 25 pronostication[s] and 3 New Testaments small [size]. The pronostications cost one sh. sterling the 25 and the 3 New Testaments cost 2sh. and 6d sterling, so there is still 6d due to you, which I remain in your debt. I have no more New Testaments, otherwise I should have sent you more. I know nothing else to write except [to ask you to] deliver the accompanying packet to Niclas and greet Baetzken for me with your whole family, and do not forget yourself?

"There can be no doubt about the identity either of the writer of this letter or of the person to whom it is addressed. Jan Siborch, or Jan van Siborch, as we here for the first time find him called in the vernacular, is the "Joannes Siberch" who introduced printing into Cambridge in the year 1521. In the form now before us the name seems to confirm the identification of the Cambridge printer with the "providus vir Joannes Lair de Siborch," at whose expense Eucharius Cervicornis (Hirschkorn) printed at Cologne in 1520 Richard Croke's *Introductiones in rudimenta graeca*, of which a copy at Lincoln has the initials I. S. on the binding. Mr. Bradshaw believed that Siborch's residence in Cambridge was connected with the appointment of Croke as Professor of Greek and Public Orator. Curiously enough one of the scraps of writing now before us is part of a paradigm of the Greek verbs in -μι beautifully written. Is Croke's Greek handwriting known ?

"At the time when he wrote this letter, P. Kaetz was not yet doing business on his own account ; he is known to us as the publisher of more than one Sarum service-book in the year 1524. It may still be possible to discover who was his 'master.' The fragment of Papyrius, being in what Mr. Bradshaw calls the *third* state, points to the end of 1522 or beginning of 1523 as the time when these pieces of paper were put together in the form of paste-board. John Siborch may very probably have remained in Cambridge as a bookbinder

and bookseller, although as a printer we know nothing of him after December, 1522."

These were most valuable discoveries. By the letter we get into personal contact with Siberch, and gain some information concerning him. I was allowed to produce a facsimile of both the letter and Croke's manuscript in my work on *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders and the First Cambridge Printer*, printed 1904.

In 1894 Mr. Bowes, being with the Library Association in Dublin, took the opportunity of visiting Trinity College to see their copy of the Cambridge edition of Galen, and soon saw that it had features which did not belong to any other copies he knew of or had examined, and he described the copy in a paper read to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 22 Oct. 1894.

The edition was evidently earlier than the other copies, in which what Bradshaw took for cancel leaves are simply the original centre leaves of the sheet. In this newly-discovered issue is a wood-cut of the "Adoration of the Shepherds," which appears in no other work printed by Siberch, nor in the edition of Galen already known. The cancelled pages in the Dublin copy are produced in facsimile, along with a reprint of Mr. Bowes' paper, in my *Bibliographical Notes* of 1906.

It is only just to say that Mr. Bradshaw had not seen this copy, and knew nothing of its interesting character; but working on his lines, Mr. Bowes concluded that his discovery did not alter the order of Bradshaw's list.

I have now come to a point when scattered bits of information, printed and unprinted, were first gathered together and printed in my work on *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and the First Cambridge Printer*, issued by the Bibliographical Society in 1904, which I had the privilege to dedicate to Mr. Robert Bowes "as an acknowledgement of many encouragements." Here will be found all biographical information, particulars of the books printed, and, for the first time, a detailed description of the books bound by Siberch.

After this publication I re-examined the available copies of

Siberch's printing, making discoveries, which, added to other information, were printed in 1906 under the title of *Bibliographical Notes, 1886—1905*, by Robert Bowes and G. J. Gray.

Ten years ago (1911) Mr. E. Gordon Duff devoted one of his Sandars lectures in the University to John Siberch, and all interested should read that lecture, which is included in his *English Provincial Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders to 1557*, printed 1912.

Now for a brief summary of the man and his work.

John Siberch, or John Laer of Siborch, or Siegburg, a town a few miles south-west of Cologne, like most of the foreign printers settled in England, made little use of his proper surname, but used the place-name instead, and called himself John Siberch. He is first met with¹ in connection with Richard Croke's *Introductiones in rudimenta graeca*, printed at Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus, May 1520, at the expense of John Lair de Siborch—"expensis providi viri domini Joannis Lair de Siborch." The copy of this work in Lincoln Cathedral Library is bound by Siberch. I have mentioned Mr. Gordon Duff's discovery of a manuscript fragment of the printer's "copy" of this work, identified by the pencil mark for a new *sheet* and a new *page*, both agreeing with the printed book. The presence of this sheet in the boards of a book printed by Cervicornus, 1519, bound by Siberch, seems to show that Siberch was already in Cambridge when Croke's work was published. It has been pointed out by Mr. Gordon Duff that Siberch was compelled to have the work printed abroad since no English printer of the time possessed a fount of Greek type, and he also points out that if Croke had acted on his own behalf, he would have had the work printed in Paris, where he had studied, or Leipzig, where he had recently been a professor, both of which towns had excellent presses. But Siberch, who evidently had the arrangement of the printing, no doubt entrusted the work to a printer of the town from which he himself came, and not improbably to the master with whom he had himself worked.

¹ Mr. S. C. Roberts supplies an earlier reference in his forthcoming *History of Printing at Cambridge*. Erasmus, writing to John Caesarius from Louvain, 5 April 1518, writes: "I was surprised that John Siberch came here without your letter."

Siberch himself, in the fourth book printed by him in 1521 (Baldwin), claimed to be the first printer of Greek in England, and uses Greek letters in six of the nine books he printed.

That John Siberch and John Laer de Siborch are the same person is confirmed by entries in the University Audit and Grace Books, where he is called variously Law, laer, leer, Siberch, etc.

The reasonable suggestion that Siberch was in Cambridge during 1520, when Croke's work was being printed, is partly helped by an entry in the University *Grace Book I* amongst the Graces for the academical year 1520-21, where there is an entry of a sum of money advanced to Siberch, an amount which we afterwards find to be £20.

Now that he is in the town his residence must be pointed out. This we know through an entry made by Dr. Caius in his *Annals of Gonville and Caius College*. The entry was discovered by Prof. R. L. Bensly. Dr. Caius made the entry in 1569, after some property, including that house, had been purchased by him from Trinity College, the deed of conveyance being dated June 1, 1563. The entry, which is in Latin, is here given in English :

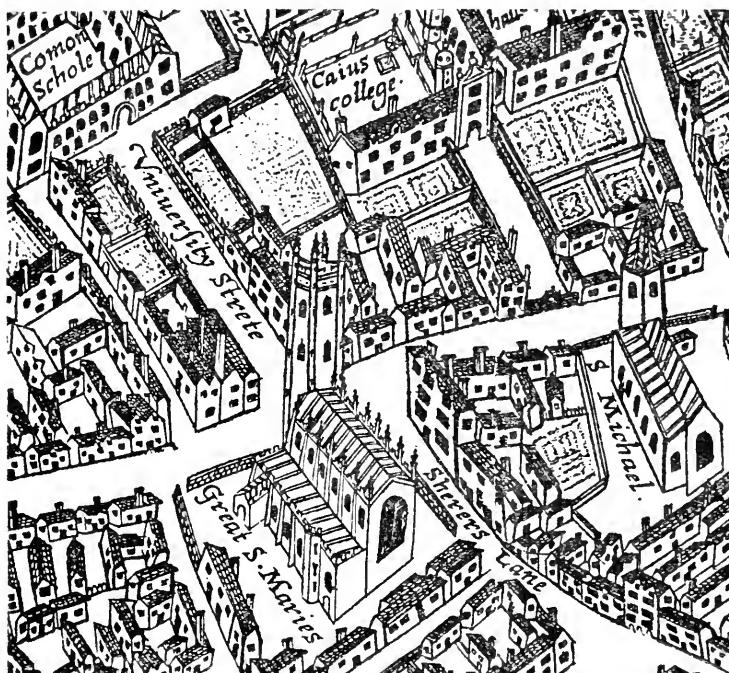
“The space between the gate of Humility and the gate of Virtue was formerly occupied by a tenement called the King's Arms. This was once the residence of John Sibert, alias Siberch, the University Printer, who printed some books of Lydgate and others, and of Erasmus when he was residing at Cambridge and publicly lectured on St. Jerome.”

The property consisted of :

“fower mesuages . . . in the parishe of S. Michael . . . over agaynst the churche and churchyerd of the same parishe betwene the lane called Michael Lane of the northe and the tenemente of Robert Lane baker of the south, and abuttinge upon the Kings highway or high streate there on the easte, and the gardeynes and ortesyerdes belonging to Gonenvill and Caius College . . . on the west.”

The four tenements were Ansel's, Houghton's, Talbot's, and Smythe's, alias the ‘King's Arms’.

More concisely in plain language, Siberch lived and printed in a tenement called the King's Arms, which stood on the space between the Gate of Humility and the Gate of Vertue, in fact, on part of the ground now traversed by the avenue in Tree Court. This house can be seen in the accurately-drawn plan of Cambridge, 1574, by John Hamond, from which I am allowed to reproduce the section showing it.



Section from Hamond's Plan of Cambridge, 1574, showing Siberch's house.
(Reproduced by permission of Messrs. Bowes & Bowes from their forth-
coming *Old Plans of Cambridge*).

This plan is especially interesting to me, for in addition to Siberch's house, it shows what are now the premises of Messrs. Bowes and Bowes, booksellers. These premises, I find, have been continuously occupied by booksellers since William Scarlett, who died

1617. It is worth noting that whilst Siberch was living in this house, Segar Nicholson, afterwards one of the three official booksellers of the University, was living as a pensioner in the College itself from 1520 to 1523.

No one has, and I certainly have not, before noted a few words in Peter Kaetz's letter to Siborch, "deliver the accompanying packet to Niclas, and greet Baetzken for me with your whole family." This seems to imply that Siberch had a family. And who was Niclas? This must be Nicholas Spierinck, the well-known Cambridge binder, who had certainly already been resident in Cambridge for twenty years. Was he working with Siberch? It is a plausible question, for he it was who possessed one of Siberch's rolls and used it along with his own roll about 1524, the year after Siberch's disappearance.

The first book printed was Henry Bullock's *Oratio*, with the imprint dated February 1521. Only four copies are known (no copy at Cambridge), and a slight variation in two of them. This Oration was made on the visit of Cardinal Wolsey in the autumn of 1520.

The second book, Augustine's *Sermo*, etc., Mr. Bradshaw says has all the appearance of having been issued in the spring (say the month of April) of the year 1521. Only one copy is known, and that is in the Bodleian. On the title-page are two upright woodcuts. No woodcut initial letters are used, but 3-line spaces are left as if they were expected to be filled in by hand. Greek type is used for the first time.

The third book, Lucian's *περὶ διψάδων* Henrico Bulloco interprete. Probably issued during June 1521. It contained also the *Oratio* printed earlier the same year. On the title-page appears for the first time the well-known border with the "Arma Regia" (France and England quarterly) at the foot. Still no woodcut initial letters, but the 3-line spaces have the letters printed in the ordinary capital letters as used in the text. Four copies are known, one in the library of St. John's College.

The fourth book, Baldwin, *Sermo de altaris sacramento*. Probably issued in the summer (say August) of 1521. It has the woodcut

border as used in the previous work, a 6-line S woodcut initial letter and 3-line spaces elsewhere are left, with the initial letters printed in the ordinary capital type as in the previous work. Two sentences are printed in Greek type, and the woodcut "Arma Regia" appears for the



First used by Siberch on Baldwin, *Sermo.* 1521.

first time. Mr. Bradshaw said that "the border round the title-page shows in some copies a second state." I have further discovered that State A has the words *Reverendissimi* and *Cantuarien* wrongly spelt on the title-page, which were corrected in State B, and whilst these corrections were made another mistake remained uncorrected—the catchword at the bottom of folio 1^b.

Two copies of State A and six of State B and some leaves are known. Both states are in Cambridge Libraries. The copy of State A in the University Library came to them with the library of

John Moore, bishop of Ely, which George I presented to the University. The book was dedicated to Nicholas West, bishop of Ely, and I think that it is the copy sent to him. Unfortunately it was re-bound at the end of the eighteenth century.

In this work Siberch claimed to be the first printer of Greek in England.

The copy of State B in Peterborough Cathedral Library is bound by Nicholas Spierinck, who, as previously mentioned, used Siberch's roll along with his own on bindings of books dated but a few years after.

The fifth work is Erasmus *de conscribendis epistolis*. Siberch's dedication is dated "decimo Calendas Novembris (Oct. 22)," and as the imprint says "Mense Octobri" we must conclude that the book was issued at the end of October 1521. Siberch now had command of 6-line woodcut initials—one the C with figure of St. George and the Dragon, but still was without the 3-line initial letters—the space for these having the letters printed there in the capital type as in the two previous books—Lucian and Baldwin. Greek type is used on two pages. And the title-page has the familiar border as used also on the two previous works. On the title-page he uses the "cum gratia et privilegio" for the first time. The work was dedicated to Bishop Fisher, and Mr. Bradshaw remarks "it must have been on this occasion, and through Bishop Fisher's influence, that he obtained leave to place 'Cum gratia et privilegio' on his title-pages."

Four copies are known, two being in Cambridge. In addition to these Mr. Bowes possessed fragments of four sheets, in which occur small errors of the press, which are corrected in the printed copies. These sheets had never been folded, and are probably proof sheets. Mr. Bowes had them suitably bound, and presented them to the University Library as representing a work not in the Library.

The copy of the work in Corpus Christi College was bound by Nicholas Spierinck.

I have a recollection of reading somewhere that Erasmus had stated in a letter that this edition was printed without his consent or knowledge, but I cannot find my notes.

The sixth work is the largest printed by Siberch—*Galeni Pergamensis de Temperamentis, et de inaequali intemperie libri tres Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete*. Linacre's dedication to Pope Leo X is dated "Londini, 1521. Nonis Septembris (Sept. 5)," but as the state of Device 2 shows that the printing was necessarily subsequent to the previously-mentioned book (Fisher), we may safely conclude that the book was issued late in the autumn (say December) of 1521. Leo X died 2 Dec. 1521.

Mr. Bowes's discovery of the copy of this book in Trinity College, Dublin, varying from the known copies, made it necessary for Mr. Bradshaw's description to be partly re-written. Briefly, it is as follows:

At first it was only the *De Temperamentis* printed, the text ending on Q 5 and 6, with the end of the text arranged in hour-glass pattern, and Siberch's imprint at the foot. On the reverse is a woodcut of the Adoration of the Shepherds, also with Siberch's imprint at foot. The opposite folio is blank, with the woodcut "Arma Regia" on the reverse. Then it was decided to add the *De inaequali intemperie*. These last leaves (Q 5 and 6) were cancelled and the ending text of the *De Temperamentis* reprinted across the page, so occupying half the page, whilst the other half contained the commencement of the *De inaequali intemperie*. This alteration substituted ten leaves in the place of the two. It is interesting to note that this addition was printed in a different form, having many side notes, an arrangement different from the first treatise, where there are none. Also the pages were numbered "Fo. lxxv" to "lxxiii" (74 not folio'd), the previous folios being unnumbered. Yet in the Contents of the work the references are to folios, though the first sixty-four are not folio'd, the Index of Errors on fo. 74 also refers to the non-existing numbered folios, and it is worth noting that no errors are corrected in the "Index Erratorum" after fo. 64, that is, no errors noted for the added treatise.

These editions I have called State A and State B. Yet both of them have the same title-page, dedication, and contents, which, I

think, clearly proves that the second treatise was an afterthought, and added before the title-sheet was printed. An examination of the wire marks on the printed paper supports this supposition.

A most interesting copy was purchased by Dr. J. F. Payne, who wrote the Introduction to the reproduction of the work published by Mr. Bowes in 1881. It was purchased after Mr. Bowes's discovery, and contains *both* states of the book. This copy is now in the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, and was presented by Dr. Payne. Mr. Bowes described the Dublin copy in a paper read to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 22 Oct. 1894, and it is reprinted with my *Bibliographical Notes* of 1906, wherein is given a facsimile of the cancelled page of State A.

The work has the familiar woodcut border. 6-line initial letters are used, the C (with figures of St. George and the Dragon) of a different character to the others, and a 4-line A, which does not range accurately with this type. The woodcut of the Adoration of the Shepherds is used at the end of the text of State A only, the Arma Regia at the end of both states.

There are two known copies of State B printed on vellum, and these are at Oxford, in the Bodleian and All Souls College. In printing these copies the 6-line initial letters were left out, evidently for the letters to be artistically filled in by hand. This is done in the All Souls' copy, but that in the Bodleian is not so done; also, the Bodleian copy has sheet S wrongly printed, through one side of a sheet being laid on the printing press the wrong way.

There are more copies known of this work than of other productions of Siberch's press: One copy of State A at Dublin; one copy of States A and B in the Royal College of Physicians. Of State B eight copies (three at Cambridge) and some fragments which Mr. Bowes presented to the University Library, not forgetting also the two copies printed on vellum which I have just spoken about.

The seventh work was *Johannis Roffensis episcopi contio . . . in latinum per Richardum Pacaeum*. The preface of Nicholas Wilson is dated "Kalend. Ianuarii 1521," which must clearly stand for Jan. 1,

1521-22, so that the book may be considered to have been issued during the month of January in what we call 1522.

There are two issues—one with the word 'virum,' the other with the same word printed 'verum' on the title-page. Only five copies in all are known, one in Cambridge being in a volume of tracts in Magdalene College Library, discovered in 1909. Mr. Bowes and I were told of its discovery, but when we went by appointment to see it we were told the volume had disappeared. Happily it turned up afterwards, having been taken away with other books by mistake. Another copy has recently been presented to the University Library by a few friends in memory of Mr. H. G. Aldis, Secretary of the Library, who died 1919. The woodcut border with the royal arms is used no more; in its place appears the trademark and initials of the printer used for the first time.

During 1913 I came across some letters written on behalf of Bishop Fisher by his chaplain, Richard Sharpe, to Dr. Nicholas Metcalfe, Master of St. John's College, contributed to the *Eagle* in 1893 by the present Master of the College (Mr. R. F. Scott), who very kindly allowed me to do what I liked with the Fisher letters; and as some gave references to booksellers and books, I pulled them to pieces and rearranged those interesting to me, and wrote an article which was printed in *The Library*, April, 1913. They were of the interesting period of 1521-23. Two of them refer to this edition of Pace's Latin translation of the sermon preached by Bishop Fisher at St. Paul's, 12th May, 1521. In the conveyance of the sermon from one person to another the last part was lost, and the Bishop had to re-write it. In a letter from Sharpe to Metcalfe (London?) he says: "My lord desyreth your maistershipe to . . . send his sermon as shortly as can be that Mr secretary hath. My lorde is very sory that the last part of his sermon is lost it will cost hym sum labour for I thynke he have not the copye." Later, in another letter to Metcalfe, "I send to you by this berer now my lordes lettre which is to Mr Secretary. I had it red and therefore ye shall know somewhat of the tenor thereof. Fyrst there is thankes for his last lettres, then he signifyes to him the

popes grete thankes for the sermon whiche thanks my lord rekenneth Mr Secretary most worthy of all by cause he hath taken such paynes in Fourming it in to latyn . . . Moreouer syr ye shall receyve of this berer my lordes sermon in ynglyshe which he prayethe you to put to Wynkyn to print and he prayethe you to speke to Jhon Gowghe to see it diligently done & trewly printed. He signifyethe to Mr Secretary that he puttes this to Wynkyn & desyreth of hym one in latyn."

Mr. Secretary is Richard Pace, Secretary of State. Pope Leo X thanks Bishop Fisher for the Latin translation of the sermon, which, evidently, was sent to him in manuscript. Leo X died 2 Dec. 1521, and Pace was immediately sent to Rome to advocate Cardinal Wolsey's candidature for the papacy, remaining abroad for more than a year, certainly until 14 Sept. 1523, when Adrian VI died, and Clement VII was elected. The last letter must then have been written before December 1521, and before either the English or the Latin translation of the sermon was printed. Nicholas Wilson, M.A. of Christ's College, wrote a long preface in praise of Richard Pace, which is printed with the *Contio*, and he was evidently responsible for its printing, and in his preface speaks of the bishop as not having cared to make the translation.

It is a curious question why Pace's Latin translation of the Sermon was not printed by Wynkyn de Worde, but by Siberch at Cambridge. It may have been by the interest of Nicholas Wilson, who resided in Cambridge, and being responsible for its production, could more easily attend to the matter in his own town than to have it done so far away as London was in those days. We know that about 1522 Wynkyn de Worde was employing other presses, so there is a possibility that he got Siberch to print the sermon. But I prefer the first suggestion.

The English Sermon was printed by Wynkyn de Worde without a date, and I can tell a story how a copy of Bishop Fisher's 1526 Sermon was confused with one of the 1521 Sermon. A copy of both were found together in the binding of a book, and were afterwards bound

separately alike by Bedford, the London binder, lettered exactly the same as being both printed by Wynkyn de Worde, which led to the confusion ; and on working the matter out, the 1521 Sermon was found to be printed by Wynkyn de Worde and the 1526 by Berthelet. The 1521 copy had for years found a resting place in the University Library, and the 1526 followed, after I had printed an account of the work in *The Library* of January 1912, and now the two are once again brought together.

The eighth work is *Papyrii Gemini Eleatis Hermathena*. The colophon says it was printed 8th December 1522. The author's dedication to Richard Pace is dated February 1522, whilst that at the end is dated Sept. 1522. Again the woodcut border is not used, and experiments were made for a new kind of title-page. We find three states of the title-page, the final one with two narrow border slips at the top and bottom, connected together at the sides by a single line or rule, which encloses the title. Both the printer's trademark and the block of the royal arms are used at the end of the work.

Four copies are known : One of the first state, which belonged to Henry Bradshaw, and is now in the University Library. Three of the second state at Dublin, Lincoln, and St. John's College. Then there are two copies printed on vellum, and these belong to the third state, one in the British Museum, wanting the last leaf (26), containing the imprint, with the printer's mark and the block of the royal arms ; the other belonged to the Duke of Devonshire, and is now in the John Rylands Library. Mr. Bowes had some fragments, which he bound and presented to the University Library. And we must not forget the copy of the first sheet in the third state, found in Westminster Chapter Library along with the work next mentioned.

The ninth work, Lily and Erasmus, *de octo partium orationis constructione libellus*, is represented, at present, by a single leaf of Sheet D which I have previously mentioned as being discovered by Mr. E. Gordon Duff in 1889, with other most interesting documents, in the binding of a work dated 1519, the binding by Nicholas Spierinck. A facsimile of this sheet is given in my little work of 1906.

This concludes a description of the books printed by Siberch during 1521-22.

Leaving out the fragments, forty-two copies are known of the first eight books, of which twelve are in Cambridge libraries. Three (1, 2, and 7) are not represented in Cambridge. The three vellum copies are in London and Oxford. The ninth book, of which only a fragment exists, is at Westminster.

Where Siberch obtained his type is uncertain. It was thought that he brought the type along with him; it is now more readily believed that he procured it from Pynson, or from the same source as Pynson. Peter Kaetz's letter to him leads to a confirmation of this statement, for he says that the specimens of type are very good, proving, I think, that the type was new to him. Certainly most of the 6-line initials were used by Pynson, whilst Wynkyn de Worde had two which we know he used in 1530. The two upright woodcuts, each containing three scenes connected with the Last Judgement in canopied compartments, used on the title-page of the Augustine, Mr. Jenkinson identifies as closely resembling with a set of fourteen used to illustrate the *Vigile Mortuorum* in an octavo *Horae*, with the mark of Mark Reynhardt, who printed at Lyons in 1477-82, probably printed by Johann Reynhard at Strasbourg or Kirchheim.

The bindings of Siberch are treated fully in my work on *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders and the First Cambridge Printer*, printed for the Bibliographical Society, October 1904. I there gave a list of six works, three of which are in Cambridge, and I have only added one more since. It is only right that I should state that Mr. Gordon Duff helped me to collect these, and I may mention that on two occasions I had the benefit of his elaborate notes, or good memory (I know not which), and that, though the officials at these libraries said the books were not there, he gave minute directions as to their place, so that when I went again to these libraries armed with his directions, the works were found! One of these instances occurred in our University Library, where the book—a

splendid and unique example too—had remained for some time in its carefully-padded box, not catalogued. The other was at the Chapter Library at Westminster, but I forget if that was catalogued or not; but I was told it was not in the Library. All students of early English printing owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Gordon Duff, who has devoted so many years to travelling round and examining our old libraries, and who generously helps fellow-workers.

Siberch's rolls and stamps are fully illustrated in my work. But there are two examples to which I would draw special attention. The folio *Lau. Valla, commentationes*, printed at Venice, 1522 (in Clare College Library), has the colophon dated November 10, 1522. I don't think this could have reached this country and been bound before 1523, and I put this as the date of the binding. The *Clichtoveus, De vita et moribus sacerdotum*, printed at Paris, 1519 (in Westminster Chapter Library), in whose binding was found Peter Kaetz's letter and fragments, including an earlier fragment of the *Papyrius Geminus Hermathena*, which, according to the colophon, was printed 8 December 1522, and the fragment of Lily and Erasmus. This I also consider as bound in 1523.

This leads up to the supposed fact that Siberch was in Cambridge early in 1523. His name does not appear in the Subsidy Roll covering the period 22 April 1523 to 21 April 1524, though Nicholas Sperryng does. I have suggested that possibly Sperryng worked for Siberch. Whether he did, or not, he certainly *lived* in Great St. Mary's parish, and as early as 1517 was a churchwarden of the parish.

It is therefore presumed that Siberch was in Cambridge certainly in 1520, the year previous to his first printed book, with the date February 1521, and was living here until early in 1523, and that by April of that year had either left the town or died. Certainly the debt of £20 appears annually in the University Grace Books long after this, and curiously enough the entry in the year 1538-39 calls him "Dominum Johannem Lair presbiterum alienigenam." In the year 1540-41 it is changed to 'laer.' The record appears in various forms up to 1546.

We also know that Erasmus, who had previously lived in Siberch's house (the "Arma Regia") for a while, writing on Christmas Day, 1525, to Dr. Richard Aldrich of King's College, sends greetings to his old friends "Gerardum, Nicolaum, et Joannem Siburgum bibliopolis." But it is not surprising that Erasmus knew not of Siberch's departure. A thought has struck me that perhaps the date 1525 should really be 1523.

I have tried to bring together all the particulars of the man who introduced printing into this University town. Whether he really was appointed University Printer we do not know for certain, but by his use of the words "cum gracia et privilegio," I should conclude that he was under the protection of the University like other later booksellers and printers of that time.

I cannot help thinking that when the early records of the various Colleges are overhauled and possibly printed, additional references to him will be found.

In the meantime we are enforced to rest content with the small amount of information gathered together by various persons from many sources. It now remains for me to say in conclusion that after the cessation of Siberch's press no printing was done in this town until Thomas Thomas started in 1584 to revive printing here, certainly as official printer to the University.



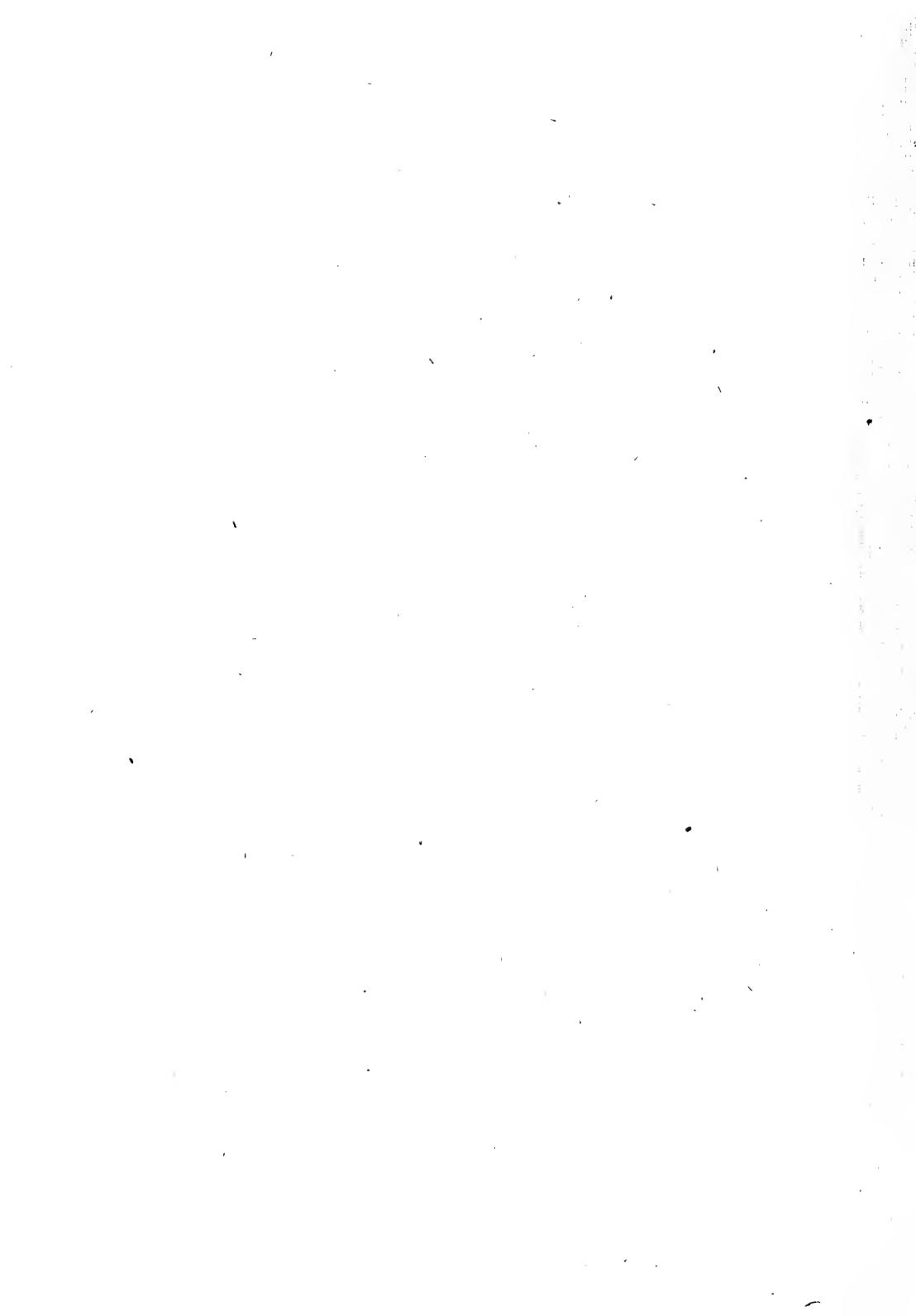
First used by Siberc in Johannis Roffensis
episcopi *continio*, 1521.

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